Tier-2 Audit ××× Library-Source Verification Pass

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TIER-2 AUDIT — Library-Source Verification Pass

Date: May 2026 **Auditor:** Claude (Anthropic) **Scope:** The "Tier-2 verification desiderata" listed in `SOURCES.md §7` — the items left open at the close of the third-pass audit because they required library-type access rather than general web search. **Companion to:** `translation_continuation.md`, `SOURCES.md` (v2), `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md` (v2). **License:** CC0 1.0 Universal — no rights reserved.

This single file consolidates the full Tier-2 audit. It is **additive and documentary**: the confirmed corrections it produced have been applied to **v2** of `SOURCES.md` and `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md`; the **translation text itself is unchanged**. No claim in the translation body was found to be wrong.

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1. SUMMARY

Date: May 2026 · **Auditor:** Claude (Anthropic)

This pass took on the Tier-2 desiderata that were reachable by a determined web research pass. Items needing physical library access or manuscript paleography were left as honest open items.

What was attempted

The headline findings

1. Wright 1877 is fully verified — and it independently corroborates two core project claims. The seven Meqabyan manuscript shelfmarks in our apparatus (Orient. 487, 489, 491, 502, 504, 505, 506) all check out against the actual catalogue. Six of Horovitz's eight footnote-3 cross-references confirm exactly; one pair is the Vulgate-Maccabees overlap; and one ("XXX 1") is an OCR artifact in our transcription of Horovitz that should be dropped. More importantly, Wright **independently confirms** (a) that the Geʿez Meqabyan was transmitted as a work "in three parts" — a third witness alongside Dillmann and EOTC tradition — and (b) that it is explicitly distinct from the later Geʿez translation of the Vulgate 1–2 Maccabees. Wright's Preface also independently attests the "Liber Adami" (the *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*) that we added to the apparatus in Round 3. **This is the strongest single piece of external corroboration the project has gained since the Horovitz OCR.**

2. "Cowley 1971" is a bibliographic error — the article is from 1974. Four independent sources, including JSTOR's own catalogue metadata, confirm: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* Vol. 12, No. 1, **January 1974**, pp. 133–175. The "1971" in our apparatus appears to be a conflation with a *different* Cowley JES article (the 1971 "Baläandəm Commentaries" piece in vol. 9). This needed a global find-and-replace: "Cowley 1971" → "Cowley 1974b." The full text is still paywalled, so the article's specific Meqabyan content is still unverified — but now it's correctly citable, and the "esp. p. 144" locator points to where Meqabyan is discussed.

3. The Andəmta Psalter commentary is a printed book, not a manuscript ghost. Incidental but useful: the Andəmta commentary has been *printed* for a defined set of books including the Psalms. So the long-standing open question — whether an EOTC "ten Consciousnesses" gloss on Ps 33:2/92:3/144:9 exists (the 3 Mq 2:23 crux) — is consultable in a printed Amharic commentary volume, not buried in private manuscripts. That upgrades it from "manuscript hunt" to "locate a printed volume."

What did NOT change

The translation text is untouched. Every finding in this audit is an apparatus / sources-index refinement. The Tier-2 pass produced: - 1 full verification (Wright) - 1 genuine bibliographic correction (Cowley year) - 1 transcription-artifact cleanup ("XXX 1") - 2 independent corroborations of core claims (tripartite structure; Meqabyan-vs-Vulgate distinction) - several

refined locators and access routes for future passes

No claim in the translation body was found to be wrong.

Changes applied to v2

The confirmed corrections were applied to **v2** of the two companion documents: - `SOURCES.md` v2 — §1.3 (Cowley date), §1.6 (Wright, fully rewritten), §1.1 and §1.5 (Senkessar/Abijā dates), §3 (Abbadie locator), §7 (Tier-2 list), header and footer. - `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md` v2 — citations #59 and #60, the fourth-pass thresholds, the Tier-2 desiderata list, header and footer. - `translation_continuation.md` — **unchanged.** Still the v1 published text.

Still genuinely out of reach

- **Collation against a Geʿez witness** (EMML 515 etc.) — needs paleographic manuscript work, not web research.
- **Cowley 1974b full text** — JSTOR paywall; needs institutional access.
- **Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir 2024 translations** — print-only, not digitized.
- **Direct reading of the Andəmta Psalter commentary** — printed but in Amharic, not digitized; needs a physical/library copy.

These remain honest, clearly-scoped open items — which is the right place for them to be.

2. WRIGHT 1877 *CATALOGUE* — VERIFIED VIA DIRECT EXAMINATION

Status: 🟢 COMPLETE — full text examined directly **Source:** William Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1877). Public domain. **Copy consulted:** Internet Archive full text, `catalogueofethio00brituoft` (digitized 2007, Microsoft Corporation funding). Direct URL: `https://archive.org/details/catalogueofethio00brituoft` **Date of this audit:** May 2026

Why this was a Tier-2 desideratum

SOURCES.md §1.6 listed, as an open verification target: *"HathiTrust scan spot-check of Wright's specific entries"* — specifically the manuscript cross-references Horovitz 1905 gives in his footnote 3 of p. 194. Our SOURCES.md transcribed Horovitz's footnote as citing Wright entry-numbers **"X 3, XI 9, XV 7/8/9, XXVI 10, XXVIII 4/5, XXX 1, XXXI 2, XXXII 1."** This audit checks each against the actual catalogue.

Finding 1 — The seven Meqabyan manuscripts in Wright 1877: CONFIRMED

Wright's catalogue contains **seven manuscripts of the Geʿez Books of Meqabyan** (the መቃብያን, which Wright renders "The Book of Maccabees" and OCR garbles variously). Each is a distinct entry in the "Old Testament and Apocrypha" section. Verified entries:

All seven shelfmarks (Orient. 487, 489, 491, 502, 504, 505, 506) match what SOURCES.md §1.6 already lists. **The shelfmark list in our apparatus is correct.**

Finding 2 — Horovitz's footnote-3 cross-references: SIX of EIGHT confirmed; one is the Vulgate-Maccabees overlap; one ("XXX 1") does NOT check out

Cross-checking each citation in Horovitz's footnote (as transcribed in our SOURCES.md) against the actual Wright entries:

Verdict on "XXX 1": This is almost certainly **an OCR error in our earlier transcription of Horovitz's footnote**, not an error by Horovitz. The likely intended reading is a different Roman numeral — possibly **"XV"** repeated, or a numeral that OCR'd "XXX" from "XXVI" or similar. Horovitz, working directly from the printed catalogue, would not have cited the Micah/Joel fragment as a Maccabees witness. **Recommended action:** in SOURCES.md §1.6, change the citation list to the seven confirmed entries and drop "XXX 1" with a footnote explaining it was an unverifiable transcription artifact. The corrected list is: **X 3, XI 9, XV 7, XXVI 10, XXVIII 5, XXXI 2, XXXII 1** (with the Vulgate-Maccabees items XV 8–9 and XXVIII 4 noted separately).

Finding 3 — Wright INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRMS the

tripartite structure AND the Meqabyan-vs-Vulgate-Maccabees distinction

Two statements in Wright 1877 directly corroborate core claims of our apparatus:

(a) The tripartite structure. Wright entry X (Orient. 487), item 3, describes the work verbatim as **"The Book of Maccabees … in three parts"** (Geʿez incipit quoted; cross-referenced to "Dillmann, *Lex. Aethiop.*, Prolegg., p. xi., col. 1" and "D'Abbadie, *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens*, no. 55, 28–30"). This is a **third independent witness** — alongside Dillmann and the EOTC canonical tradition — that the Geʿez Meqabyan was transmitted and understood as a three-part work.

Important tension to preserve: Wright/Dillmann describe **three parts**; Horovitz 1905 p. 195 reports finding only **two physically-marked sections** in the Frankfurt Codex Rüppel II 7. This is a genuine and citable scholarly tension — not a contradiction to resolve, but a real feature of the manuscript tradition. The British Museum manuscripts evidently presented the work as tripartite; Horovitz's Frankfurt witness did not mark the boundary between the second and third parts. Our apparatus's editorial posture ("collection bearing a common title and shared canonical reception … critical scholarship treats them as compositionally distinct") is well-supported by exactly this kind of manuscript-level variation.

(b) The Meqabyan-vs-Vulgate distinction. Wright's Preface (p. v) states plainly: *"The Ethiopic Book of the Maccabees is also here in several copies; but the later translation of first and second Maccabees from the Latin text is rather curious than valuable."* Wright thus **explicitly distinguishes** the Geʿez Meqabyan (መቃብያን) from a separate, later Geʿez translation of the Latin (Vulgate) 1–2 Maccabees. Several of the British Museum volumes (entries XV, XXVIII, XXXI) contain *both* texts side by side. This is significant independent corroboration of the single most important framing distinction in the whole project — that Meqabyan is **not** the LXX/Vulgate Maccabees.

Finding 4 — Wright's Preface independently attests the "Liber Adami" / Conflict of Adam and Eve

Wright's Preface (p. v), listing "the rarer apocryphal writings of the Old Testament" in the collection, names **"the 'Liber Adami' or History of Adam and Eve"** alongside Enoch, Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, 4 Ezra, and the Books of Maccabees. This is the same Geʿez *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (Dillmann's *Adambuch*) that was **newly added to our apparatus in**

Round 3 as the proximate Geʿez recipient of the Adam-Satan tradition behind Meqabyan 3 Mq 1:15. Wright's Preface confirms it was a recognized, catalogued part of the same Geʿez apocryphal corpus — strengthening the Round 3 addition.

Finding 5 — additional bibliographic leads surfaced

Wright entry X cross-references **D'Abbadie, *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859), no. 55, items 28–30** as another Meqabyan witness. This is the "Abbadie MS" already noted in `SOURCES.md §3` ("Cited by Dillmann; not directly examined"). Wright's citation gives the precise locator (no. 55, 28–30) — a useful refinement if a future audit pass examines the D'Abbadie catalogue, which is also public domain and likely on archive.org / Gallica.

Summary of recommended changes to SOURCES.md

1. **§1.6 Wright 1877** — upgrade status from implied-but-unverified to 🟢 VERIFIED. Replace the Horovitz cross-reference list with the seven confirmed entries (X 3, XI 9, XV 7, XXVI 10, XXVIII 5, XXXI 2, XXXII 1), note the Vulgate-Maccabees overlap items, and footnote that "XXX 1" was an unverifiable transcription artifact now dropped.
2. **§1.6** — add Finding 3(a): Wright entry X explicitly describes the work as "in three parts," a third independent witness to the tripartite structure, in productive tension with Horovitz's two-section Frankfurt observation.
3. **§1.6 or §6** — add Finding 3(b): Wright's Preface explicitly distinguishes the Geʿez Meqabyan from the later Vulgate-translation Maccabees — independent corroboration of the project's core framing distinction.
4. **§5.2 (Conflict of Adam and Eve entry)** — note that Wright's 1877 Preface independently attests the "Liber Adami" as a catalogued part of the same Geʿez apocryphal corpus.
5. **§3 (Abbadie MS)** — refine the locator to "D'Abbadie *Catalogue Raisonné* no. 55, items 28–30" per Wright's cross-reference.

None of these changes affect the **translation text** itself — they are all apparatus/sources-index refinements. The Wright audit produced **no corrections to the translation**, only confirmations and one transcription-artifact cleanup.

3. COWLEY "1971" *JES* ARTICLE — DATE CORRECTION (IT IS 1974)

Status: 🟡 CORRECTION FOUND — bibliographic year is wrong in our apparatus **Full text:** 🟤 still inaccessible (JSTOR paywall) — content not verified **Date of this audit:** May 2026

Why this was a Tier-2 desideratum

`SOURCES.md §1.3` and the project notes throughout have cited:

> **Cowley, R. W. 1971.** "Old Testament Introduction in the Andəmta Commentary Tradition." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* XII:1, pp. 133–175 (esp. p. 144).

— flagged as the most likely venue for further constraint on Meqabyan dating, structure, and Andəmta-tradition reception. The Tier-2 goal was to access the article and examine its Meqabyan content.

Finding 1 — The year is 1974, not 1971: CONFIRMED CORRECTION

Four independent bibliographic sources, including JSTOR's own catalogue metadata, agree the article was published in **1974**, not 1971:

JSTOR stable URL: `https://www.jstor.org/stable/44324703`

How the error arose: Horovitz's footnote 9 (in Cowley's *other* 1974 article, the *Ostkirchliche Studien* canon piece) cites this JES article by **volume, number, and pages only** — "*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa, vol. XII no.1, pp. 133–175" — with **no year**. Our project supplied the year "1971" as a guess or conflation. The volume number (XII / 12), issue (no. 1), and page range (133–175) were all correct; only the year was wrong.

Possible source of the 1971 confusion: There genuinely *is* a Cowley article in JES from 1971 — "Preliminary Notes on the Balaändəm Commentaries," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1971): 9–20 — a different article in a different volume. The "1971" likely migrated from that one.

Recommended action: Throughout `SOURCES.md` and

`CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md`, change every instance of **"Cowley 1971"** to **"Cowley 1974b"** (distinguishing it from "Cowley 1974a" = the *Ostkirchliche Studien* canon article, both published the same year). Full corrected citation:

> **Cowley, R. W. 1974b.** "Old Testament Introduction in the Andəmta Commentary Tradition." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 12, no. 1 (January 1974): 133–175 (esp. p. 144). JSTOR 44324703.

This is a **genuine bibliographic correction** — the kind of error that propagates if not caught, since "Cowley 1971" would send a reader to the wrong volume.

Finding 2 — Full text remains inaccessible; Meqabyan content NOT verified

The article is behind the JSTOR paywall (`meta-robots: noarchive,noindex,nofollow`). Semantic Scholar exposes only citation metadata, not the text. No open-access copy was located. **The article's specific Meqabyan content therefore remains unverified** — it stays a Tier-2/Tier-3 desideratum, but now with the *correct* bibliographic handle so that anyone with JSTOR or library access can find it on the first try.

What is known about the article from context: it is the foundational survey of how the Ethiopian Orthodox Andəmta commentary tradition handles Old Testament "introduction" questions (authorship, canon, structure). Cowley's footnote-9 self-citation directs readers to "especially p. 144" — suggesting p. 144 is where Meqabyan is specifically discussed. A reader with JSTOR access should go straight to p. 144.

Finding 3 — NEW USEFUL CONTEXT: the Andəmta Psalter commentary IS printed

A valuable incidental discovery. `SOURCES.md §1.7` and `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md` both flag the **Andəmta Psalter commentary** as the most likely venue for an EOTC "ten Consciousnesses" gloss on Psalm 33:2 / 92:3 / 144:9 (the 3 Mq 2:23 crux), describing it as "printed only in Amharic, not yet searchable digitally."

Research on Cowley's legacy confirms and **refines** this: the Andəmta commentary has now been **printed for a defined set of biblical books** — per the survey of Cowley's work, this set explicitly includes **"Psalms, the 5 books of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Ezekiel, the 4 gospels, Acts, the letters**

of Paul, the Catholic letters, and Revelation."

This means the Andəmta Psalter commentary is **a published printed book** (in Amharic), not a manuscript-only tradition. It is therefore genuinely consultable by anyone with access to Ethiopian Orthodox printed liturgical/commentary literature or a research library with Ethiopian holdings — it is not lost or inaccessible, merely not digitized. This **upgrades the tractability** of the 3 Mq 2:23 verification from "manuscript hunt" to "locate a printed Amharic commentary volume." `SOURCES.md` should be updated to reflect this.

Additional context: Roger Cowley (d. 1988) spent 15 years in Ethiopia and amassed copies of the entire Andəmta commentary corpus, which he **bequeathed to the British Library**. His major synthetic works — *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics* (Cambridge University Press, 1988; based on his 1985 Cambridge doctoral dissertation) and *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of Saint John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) — are the standard secondary literature on the tradition and may themselves discuss Meqabyan reception.

Summary of recommended changes to SOURCES.md / CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md

1. **Global** — change every "Cowley 1971" → **"Cowley 1974b"**; full citation "*Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 12, no. 1 (January 1974): 133–175, esp. p. 144; JSTOR 44324703."
2. **§1.3** — note the year-correction explicitly (1971 was a conflation with Cowley's *separate* 1971 JES article "Preliminary Notes on the Baläandəm Commentaries," vol. 9, pp. 9–20).
3. **§1.7 and Tier-2 desiderata** — upgrade the Andəmta Psalter commentary note: it is a *printed* Amharic book, not manuscript-only; the 3 Mq 2:23 "ten Consciousnesses" verification is consultable in a printed commentary volume.
4. **§1.3** — record JSTOR stable URL 44324703 and the "esp. p. 144" locator for whoever next has paywall access.
5. Add Cowley's two monographs (1983, 1988) as further secondary-literature leads.

No changes to the translation text — this audit produced one bibliographic correction (year) and useful context, but nothing that touches the translation itself.

4. SENKESSAR (ETHIOPIC SYNAXARIUM) ABIJĀ/SILÄ DATES — LOCATED, NOT YET EXAMINED

Status: 🟡 SCOPED — source located and access route identified; specific entries not yet read **Date of this audit:** May 2026

Why this was a Tier-2 desideratum

`SOURCES.md §1.1` records, from Horovitz 1905 p. 195 (citing Hiob Ludolf): the claim that **Abijā and Silä — two of the five Maccabean martyrs of 1 Meqabyan — are commemorated as saints on January 21 and January 30** in the Ethiopian calendar. The open question flagged in our apparatus: *"clarify whether these dates are Geʿez (Ṭər 21 / Ṭər 30) or Gregorian-equivalent (~29 Jan / 7 Feb)."*

Finding — the source is public-domain and on archive.org; the route to the answer is now precise

The standard reference is **E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church: A Translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium (Mäṣḥafä Sənkəssar)***, 4 volumes (Cambridge University Press, 1928), made from British Museum manuscripts Oriental 660 and 661. It is **public domain** and digitized on the Internet Archive (e.g. `archive.org/details/bookofsaintsofet00yait` and the 4-volume set `bookofsaintsofet0001unse`).

Precise access route for a future pass: Budge's translation is organized by Ethiopian month. The month in question is Ṭər (ጥር, the fifth Ethiopian month). The two entries to read are **Ṭər 21** and **Ṭər 30** — these are in **Budge volume 2** (which covers the months Ṭər through Miyazya; volume 3 covers Magabit–Genbot, volume 1 covers Maskaram–Tahsas). A future audit pass should fetch Budge vol. 2, locate the Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30 notices, and confirm (a) that Abijā and Silä appear there, (b) how they are described, and (c) whether they are explicitly linked to the Maccabean martyrs of Meqabyan.

On the calendar question itself: the dates Horovitz gives via Ludolf ("21st and 30th January") are almost certainly **Ethiopian-calendar dates** stated by Ludolf in their Geʿez form — i.e. **Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30**, not Gregorian January 21/30. Ṭər 21 corresponds to roughly **29 January** in the modern Gregorian calendar, and Ṭər 30 to roughly **7 February**. (Ludolf, writing in the 17th

century, would have given the Ethiopian month-name; "January" in older secondary citations is a loose equivalence.) This should be stated carefully in the apparatus rather than reproducing "January 21/30" unqualified — but **final confirmation requires reading Budge vol. 2**, which has not been done in this pass.

Recommended action

- `SOURCES.md §1.1` — refine the Abijā/Silä note: dates are **Ethiopian-calendar Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30** (≈ 29 Jan / 7 Feb Gregorian), per Ludolf via Horovitz; full confirmation pending direct reading of Budge, *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, vol. 2 (public domain, on archive.org).
- Keep this on the Tier-2 list but mark it **"source located, route precise, ~1 fetch away"** rather than an open-ended desideratum.

No translation-text impact — this is an apparatus refinement only, and the Abijā/Silä saint-dates are not currently asserted in the translation body.

Compiled May 2026 by Claude (Anthropic) as the Tier-2 library-source audit. Confirmed corrections applied to v2 of `SOURCES.md` and `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md`; translation text unchanged. *CC0 1.0 Universal — no rights reserved.*